

Salmon

ROMAN STATIONS IN BRITAIN,

According to the
Imperial Itinerary,

UPON THE

WATLING-STREET,		IKENING,
		OR,
ERMINE-STREET,		VIA AD ICIANOS.

So far as any of these

R O A D S

Lead through the following COUNTIES,

Norfolk,		Hertfordshire,
Suffolk,		Bedfordshire,
Cambridgeshire,		Middlesex.
Essex,		

— *Si quid novisti rectius istis,*
Candidus imperti; si non, His utere Mecum. Hor.

L O N D O N:

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TO THE

Right Honourable

HENEAGE FINCH,

Earl of *Winchelsea*, Viscount *Maidstone*, Baron *Fitzherbert*, of *Eastwell*
in the County of *Kent*.

My LORD,

OUR Lordship's Love and Knowledge of Antiquity will indulge the Freedom of this Address. And the high Esteem I ever had of your singular Merit, makes every Pretence of being introduced to you, a Pleasure.

There

DEDICATION.

There have been of late, great Advances made toward the Recovering this sort of Learning, without which, Mr. Camden observes, we are but Foreigners in our own Country. More is yet to be expected from the Spirit of the modern Antiquaries. And more might still be had, if all that write for us would act as Camden, Cotton, Gale, Willis, and Stukeley, the Part of Exploratores. They that determine for us ex Cathedrâ, literally speaking, Situations, Distance, and Soil, do but puzzle our Enquiries, following one anothers Errors.

It's a Grand Injury to Truth to back ill-founded Conjectures by the Authority of great Names, by which laudable Searches are check'd and forestalled.

Whatever Monuments we have of that brave People who carried their Arms through wide extended Regions, afford us an edifying View.

Their Eagles came not so much to devour as to improve And the Epithet of Barbarous given to the Nations they made War against was just, if compared with the Civility their Conquests introduced.

Our British Ancestors were indeed the better for them, from whom they learned Arts, Sciences, and Economy. They had lived till then the unthinking Life of Shepherds. All the Tribute they paid might be raised out of the additional Improvements Rome had made, and they

DEDICATION.

they might under her enjoy more than their original Milk and Cheese.

It's true, they complain'd of being put to hard Work, in making Roads and filling up Bogs. But Complaining is a Weed never to be eradicated from British Soil, and the Remedy is generally the next to be complained of. Happy had it been for them if their Mistress could have kept her Ground, and them a Province longer. They had been free from Saxon Plunder and Danish Piracies. And who can help sighing, to see Vandal and Gothick Force subdue so generous and humane a Conqueror?

My Lord,

In this Attempt to settle the Stations of this Part of England I have applied to the best Helps I could find of Etymology, Remains, and Distance. The first of these, and the second may be lost, but the last must stand till the Conflagration. I have therefore asserted nothing but what Antonine's Numbers will countenance, and made little Variation, but where the Accompt varies from it self. We are too apt to plead the Corruption of Copies, when the Corruption of Interpreters is greater. Our best Security is in keeping the Text sacred. And if we can rescue a Figure from the Torture of the Critics we have saved a Citizen. If my Performance be Erroneous, I ask not your Lordship to Patronize it, but
submit

DEDICATION.

*submit to Judgment candid and sagacious as
Your's, and shall esteem your Corrections an
Honour to,*

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Faithful, and

Most Obedient Servant,

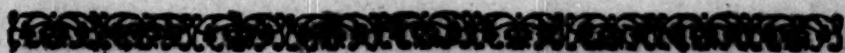
Bishops Storeford.
St. Andrew's Day.
1725.

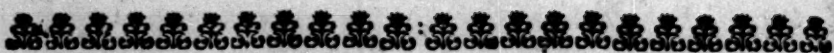
N. SALMON.



ERRATA.

PAGE 8. Line 20. for *be used* read *have Places*. p. 17.
l. 9. dele *this*. p. 20. l. 17. for *Sigbar* r. *Side*. p. 25. l. 11.
for *formerly* r. *formally*. p. 30. l. 15. for *now* r. *new*. p. 31.
l. 15. for *Freeman* r. *Freman*. p. 31. l. 6. for *Number* r. *Num-*
bers. p. 36. l. 8. for *Huningford* r. *Hasingford*. p. 40. l. 19.
for *Magioventum* r. *Magiovinium*. p. 41. l. 21. r. *Massinovia*
one word. p. 46. l. 26. for *Brooks* r. *Brook*. p. 52. l. ult. r.
Magiovinium.





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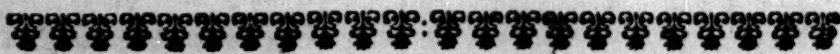
I Am about to publish the History of *Hertfordshire* in FOLIO, which contains the Antiquities, as far as I can retrieve them, with the old Monuments and Inscriptions in Churches, particularly the *French*, of which a few only are preserved by Mr. *Weaver*, and copied by others, without giving us the rest.

The Price to Subscribers a Guinea, one half to be paid down.

The Materials are ready, and wait only for a hundred Subscriptions.

N. SALMON.

Subscriptions are taken in by Mr. WILLIAM BOWYER, Printer, in *Whitefryars*.





ROMAN STATIONS

I N

BRITAIN, &c.



T is agreed that the *Romans* made many publick Ways in *Britain* for the March of their Army, as well as the Convenience of Travellers. These were called by them Consular, Prætorian, and Military Ways. They could by these traverse and cross the Countrey from one City, Colony, and Station to another. These they made as direct as the Nature of the Ground would allow, upon a Foundation of Stone and Gravel with prodigious Labour where the Soil required it.

Four of these are reckoned their grand Roads because they reached the Length or Breadth of what is now called *England*, whereas the other terminated in them. The Names by which three of them are known
B
are

are *Saxon*, called Streets; the *Watling*, *Ermine*, and *Ikening*. The Fourth is *Fosse*, from the *Roman* Method of making a Cause-way between Ditches. They were in the *Norman* times reckoned four, and a Law made then *de Pace quatuor Cheminorum*.

The *Ermine* Street I will first trace, because from *London* it passes through most of the Counties mention'd in the Title Page. Some have thought its Name derived from *Hermes*, *Mercury*, others from *Saxon* Words, signifying a martial and secure Passage. But Mr. *Somner's* Etymology of *Here*, in *Saxon* an Army, and *Hereman* a Soldier, has obtained with the best Judges. So that *Herman-street* is nothing else but a military Way, and was doubtless a Name for all the *Roman* Ways, tho the *Saxons* meant only this by it, by way of Distinction from all the rest. It reaches from *New-haven* on the Coast of *Suffex*, through *Surrey* to *London*. This I take for granted, and believe no body will dispute.

From *London* it has been thought to pass by *Hertford* and *Royston* to *Caxton*, and so to *Durolipons*, *Godmanchester*, and thence to *Lincoln* and the *North*. But if that were its Course, it were perfectly useless, for there is not one Station upon it till *Godmanchester*, or rather *Hertford* on t'other Side the River; to which I hope to shew another military Way leading. Neither *Hertford* nor *Royston* have any Appearance of a Camp or other Remains, and the
Road

Road between *Royston* and *Caxton* is not *Ar-*
minton but *Arrington*.

I would carry it from *London* by *Hertford*
to *Caster*, near *Tarmouth*. This in the first
Place is much more direct. And Stations are
found upon it answering to the Numbers of
Antoninus.

Iter. 9.

<i>A Ventâ Icenorum Londinium</i>	M. P. — 128
<i>Sitomago</i> —————	31
<i>Cambretonio</i> —————	22
<i>Ad Ansam</i> —————	15
<i>Camuloduno</i> —————	06
<i>Canonio</i> —————	09.
<i>Cæsaromago</i> —————	12
<i>Durolito</i> —————	16
<i>Londinio</i> —————	15

If I were to begin from *London* to *Venta*
Icenorum, inverting the Order of the *Itinera-*
ry, it might be done with a better Grace, be-
cause the most obscure Traces I have, being at
the farther End might be tolerably supported
by the Evidence of the other. Yet I will fol-
low this *Iter* in the Order it lies, as well as the
rest I treat of, hoping the slender Proof I have
here will not discourage any Man from trying
it quite through: And hoping at the same time
for more Light from the Endeavours of better
Etymologists in Confirmation of my Scheme.

Venta Icenorum then I take to be *Castor*.
The other two, of kindred Sound, are *Venta*
Belgarum, and *Venta Silurum*, both which stand

upon a River which this has not : And *Venta* has that Signification. The Direction, I beg, may be observed from *London*, nay, beyond *London*, from *Newhaven*, through the Stations I mention, to this Place, and the exact answering of the Miles.

If I am to prove a Witnesses Hand to a Deed, it is enough to prove the Witness dead. Mr. *Camden* (whom I quote in the Translation) saith of *Tarmouth*, “ In this Slip upon an open
“ Shore I saw *Tarmouth*, the Mouth of the *Ga-*
“ *rienis*, a very neat Harbour and Town, for-
“ tified both by the Nature of the Place, and
“ the Contrivance of Art.— I dare not affirm
“ that this was the old *Gariononum* where for-
“ merly the *Stablesian* Horse lay in Garrison
“ against the *Barbarians* : Nor yet the neigh-
“ bouring little Village *Castor*, (formerly the
“ Seat of Sir *John Falstaff* an eminent Knight)
“ famous among the Inhabitants upon account
“ of its Antiquity, tho’ there is a Report that
“ the River *Tare* had another Mouth just un-
“ der it. But as I am thoroughly convinced that
“ the *Gariononum* was at *Burgh-Castle* in *Suf-*
“ *folk*, which is scarce two Miles distant from
“ the other side of the River, so am I apt to
“ think that *Tarmouth* rose out of its Ruins,
“ and that *Castor* was one of the Roman Castles
“ placed also at the Mouth of the River *Tare*
“ now shut up. For as the North-West Wind
“ plays the Tyrant upon the Coast of *Holland*
“ over-against this Place, and has stopped up
“ the middle Mouth of the *Rhine* by heaping in
“ Sands,

“ Sands, juſt ſo has the North-Eaſt plagued this
 “ Coaſt, and by ſweeping up Heaps of Sand,
 “ ſeems to have ſtopt this Mouth.

This ſame great Author, it's true, and others ſince, have made *Caſtor* upon the *Wenfar* the *Venta Icenorum*: But then he muſt make *Thetford Sitomagum*, where there is no appearance of Roman Remains, except ſome Coins; and that will by no means quadrate with *Cambretonium*, which I think my ſelf pretty clear in. That *Caſtor* upon *Wenfar* was a Camp does no hurt to my Deſign; it's a Proof of a Military Way from the other *Caſtor* where I fix the *Venta*. And if there was a *Præpoſitus Equitum Stableſianorum Garianenſis*, as we find, there might be a Party of them upon Duty here.

Sitomagum I make *Wyndham*. By ordinary Computation that will be but about twenty Miles to *Norwich*, and ſix beyond; yet theſe twenty ſix to a Man that travels them, and to the Inhabitants, do paſs for very good meaſure at one and thirty, the Figures of the Itinerary. There is ſcarce any Part of *England* where they have more Way-bits to their Miles than here, and therefore I need be at no Pains to make the Diſtance out.

It is contracted from *Wymondham*, of which I do not pretend to produce the Etymology; it might probably be from the Name of ſome Saxon Lord there. There are two Villages in *Hertfordſhire*, call'd by *Domeſday Wymondeſlai*, deducible perhaps from the ſame Original. In that Record they are ſaid to be *Terra Regis*.
 One

One of them was held by the *D'Argentons*, a Norman Family, by grand Serjeanty, to serve the King on the Day of his Coronation with a Silver Cup, which Office still goes with the Estate; and it is now in three Ladies, who ought all of them jointly to officiate. The King gives the Bearer the Cup again for his own Use, whence the term of *Hertfordshire* Kindness, we are told, arose. It is used for drinking to him that hath drank to me before, the Jest of which is either very dull or very obscure. The Silver Cup seems to point to the Name of *Argenton*. Neither here can we resolve the Rise of this Place's Name into any thing but a Saxon Owner. There is also an Estate called *Wymondwold*, mention'd in *Sir Thomas de Chaworth's* Confirmation of the Grants of his Ancestors, *Monast. Anglican.* Vol. 2. Pag. 608. And in the same Page again in a Charter of *Edward the Second*.

The Town of *Wyndham* is ancient, and has an Air of Grandeur: It belonged to the *Albinies* Earls of *Arundel*, and was their Burial Place. *William d'Albiney*, Boteler to King *Henry the First*, built a Church here, and made it a Cell to the Monastery of *St. Alban*. This was afterwards advanced into an Abbey, the Site of which is yet visible, the Walls enclosing a Meadow. The Tower of the Abbey-Church is still standing, and joins to the East End of the Parish-Church, which is large and handsome, and has two Towers, of which that of the Abbey makes one.

The

The Place is such as the *Romans* used to chuse for their Stations or Mansions: It has doubtless undergone many Alterations and Revolutions. The *Saxons* and *Danes* may have done enough there to give occasion to—*Quantum mutatus ab illo*. We have reason to believe this Place shared in the *Danish* Devastation with *Thetford*, which in the Year 1003 was burned by *Sueno*, and six Years after again sacked by his Countrymen. The *Danes* might use the Roman Camp here, and alter it so as to deface the first Plan. The *Saxons* might build over it, and when the Rubbish came to be levelled, the Traces might, most of them, be defaced.

And yet, whoever will take a View of the Town in its present State, and look out for a Piece of Ground on the military Way, such as he would imagine the *Romans* would have chose, may still, I think, find it with some Remains of their Fortification. As we ascend the Hill on the *London* Road, we may turn into a little Lane on the Left that leads down to a Brook. The Fence of this Lane is an old *Vallum* to secure their Camp. This, I suppose, was continued down to the Meadows, between which and the Arable is a Fall of the Earth, such as a decay'd Rampart would make in such a tract of Time where the Floods sapped the Foundation. This runs in a Line towards the South the length of three or four small Fields; and the Camp lies to the South-East Sun, the most beautiful Situation, such as will be observ'd at

the Station *ad Ansam*, and generally where they had their Choice. The present Road to *London*, which I take Liberty to call the military Way, seems to go through the middle of the Camp, whence it might be continued to the Wall of the Monastery yet remaining. They that have more Opportunity by searching farther, and comparing the Sides of the Square, or Oblong with the Angle I direct them to at the Brook, may perhaps make a farther Discovery. As to Coins, I have heard of none here; nor do I always expect them where the *Romans* have been. In their Cities and Colonies I believe they never fail: But many of their Camps are without, or if not, they are yet undiscovered. At what Time they buried or scattered their Money, 'tis unknown to us; whether always near the Ashes of their Dead or not. All Camps might not be used for Sepulture: And if their Design was, at leaving the Island, which they did without Prospect of Returning, to let Posterity know who had been their Masters, and how far their Arms had been carried, it was not necessary every one of their *Æstiva* should have these Monuments. It seems to be in the latest Years of their Continuance here that they dispersed their Money, because the lower Emperors Coin is found in greatest Plenty.

On the *North East* Side of *Windham* at half a Mile's Distance stands what is left of a small antient Building called *Windham* Chappel. The Foundation is a Bridge of three or four
Arches

Arches over a Brook running North and South, the Chappel East and West. The Walls only are remaining, the Holy-water Nich in the usual Place. The Bridge is about three Foot wider than the Chappel, so there is a foot Way over by the Chappel side, which a Horse too may go upon in a Flood. This is thought to have been the Cell of some Anchoret, who lived upon the Alms of Passengers. Just by stands a Meeting-house of the *Quakers*, who formerly made use of the Chappel till it became ruinous, as one of the Neighbours informed me. By what revolving Jumble of Ideas they came to fix upon hallowed Ground, is to me a Mystery, unless the murmuring Stream did the Office of an Organ, and served as a Vehicle to their Sighs.

From *Wyndham* the present Road runs through *Attelborough*, where one would look for the Station from the Name of *Borough*, if it had answered in Distance from *Cambretonium*; thence by *Laylam Ford* to *Thetford*: But the Military Way to *Cambretonium* by *Thetford*, which is visible for some Miles upon the Common by its straight and broad Course yet subsisting, seems to have left the present Road two or three Miles on the Left, and passed near *Hockham* to *Thetford*. On the Side of this Way from *Hockham* in *East-Wrettam* Parish is a remarkable Cavity called *Ringmore Pit*. It is in form of an Aphitheatre to the Bigness of six or seven Acres, with an uniform Descent on every Side to the *Arena*.

So exact is its Figure, even yet one can't help believing it was contrived for Shew. There was not in the latter End of *October* a drop of Water in it, which the wet Summer must have filled, if it ever had been a Pond. More of this kind I have heard of hereabouts, but not seen.

The Military Way keeps its Direction, and crosses the common *Norwich* Road half a Mile before it reaches *Thetford*: Then it passes by the Castle on the East Side, and points to a Bridge to which we go down from the Market, where the antient Ford must have been. For another Military *Agger* meets it at this Ford, and conducts you in a strait Line to *Cambretonium*. The chief Bridge over the little *Ouse* at *Thetford* is some Furlongs to the Right, where the Inns stand, and the Churches. One of these built with very black Flints, is thence called the black Church. Here is a handsome Town-Hall, on the Top of which is a Statue of Sir *Joseph Williamson*, a Benefactor to the Place. Here is also a handsome publick Building for a School, with the Donor's Name upon it. The Remains of an Abbey are to be seen: But this once the Residence of *Saxon* Kings, and reputed a rich and populous Place, hath since that time been dwindling: Here was the episcopal See, translated since to *Norwich*. Within three hundred Years there have been standing seven Churches, and three Monasteries.

There

There is at the Castle a large *Tumulus*, or Barrow, the biggest I know of, except that of *Marlborough*: Two long Barrows or Ramparts stand before it at about sixty Yards distance from one another. They are very high with a Ridge upon each, resembling a great Barn. The Mount with these its Attendants makes an august Appearance. The Prospect from thence over the Flat towards *Dis* is delightful. This seems to me to be of *Danish* Erection. It has no Sign of a Stone or Wall belonging to it, as if it had been used for a Castle. There is convincing Proof some of these Barrows were *British* Work, because where they stood so as to obstruct the Direction of a *Roman* Way, they have been half cut off by the Road. But we have Reason to believe the great Number of them we observe in some Countries were *Danish*, because there are the most of them where the *Danes* are known to have been. And tho' their primary Intention might be for Sepulture according to the Practice of *Scandinavia* and the North of *Germany*, they had, besides the Honouring their Leaders fallen in Battel, another thing in View.

They might be set up for Victory and Terror; the *Ebenezer* of that People, whom *Hunger* had made Fierce and Desperate. These were Monuments of their Generals Valour for the Encouragement of their own Soldiers; And Trophies of their Conquest to strike their Enemies with the Dread of an irresistible Force.

Giraldus Cambrensis is a corroborating Evidence. “ *Harald*, the very last Foot Soldier, “ with a Company of Foot lightly armed, and “ stocked with such Provision as the Country “ afforded, marched both round the whole “ County of *Wales*, and through and through “ it, insomuch that he scarce left any alive behind him. In Memory of which total Defeat, he threw up many Hillocks of Stones, “ after the ancient manner, in these Places “ where he obtained Victories, which bear this “ Inscription :

HIC FUIT VICTOR HARALDUS.

Hence we pass over pleasant Downs to *Icklingham* in *Suffolk*, the *Roman Cambretonium* eight Miles Southward in a Line, which with fourteen from *Wyndham* is *Antonine's* Complement. About two Miles before we reach it is a Concave, a kind of Reverse of a Barrow, with what Design made I cannot guess. A Mile farther a Barrow, and from it the Way to the City by an easy Descent which it enters by one of the Churches.

In the Chancel of this Church is a Tessellated Pavement in shape of a large Grave-stone, taken doubtless from some *Roman* Building of the Place to cover the Grave. The Pavement within the Rails of this Chancel is all of the same. The City seems, at least, to be half a Mile long, stretched out on the North of the River that runs by *St. Edmonds-bury* to *Bartten Mills* and *Mildenham*. It is now navigable

ble just to *Bury*. On the South-West of all the Ruins is the Camp, a Square of about twenty five Acres. The *Vallum* yet is visible on all sides but where the watry Ground has brought it to decay. Near it is a kind of *Agger* leading to the River at a Sluice near a Bridge call'd *Temple-Bridge*, that may have been the Ford to *Ad Ansam*: But I rather think another half a Mile East-ward, which when we are over in half a Mile to the South, a Road cuts through a high Bank, like the *Devil's Ditch*, to which probably it answers as an old *British* Division of the Country; for the Fosse is on the South of most part of the *Vallum*, as at *New-market Heath*. Some part of this *Vallum* has a Fosse on both sides: It is continued about half a Mile. There is a Field near the Camp called *Kentfield*, corrupted doubtless from *Campfield*, and another toward the East called *Rampitfield*. Coins are here found in great abundance, by some of the Inhabitants call'd Papish Money. Others there talk of *Romus* and *Remus*, and *Constantine*, and pretend to distinguish valuable Pieces from others. Some of these I brought from thence (besides others not to be understood.) I have a large leaden Vessel containing about ten or twelve Gallons, dug up there two Years ago, in which there was nothing but what was turn'd to Earth. Whether it was used for a Cistern I don't know. It is much of a Size at top and bottom, and about twenty two inches diameter, with some ornamental Work on the outside. There are two Ears perforated,

forated, as if they had once Rings in them to lift it by, which may be rusted off: And there are Coins of *Commodus Tetricus*, and many of the lower Emperors.

The Coins are still found at half a Mile's distance from the City eastward in greatest abundance. One thing remarkable thereabout is, that in digging deep Ditches, to drain and fence the Moors, *Roman Money* is found: They could hardly hide it here in hope of finding it themselves, or for After-ages to find. It seems that in twelve hundred Years, or more, the Water has here gain'd upon the Land by its own sapping properly, and the Force of the East Wind.

A Mile to the West of the City, towards *Mil-denham*, on the Warren Hill, are three *Celtic* Barrows, if the Fosse about them denominates them such. That in the middle is levelled half way, and a plain Entrance to it, as if there had been a Section half way from top to bottom, and another half way cross, to take off the Piece, and make a Stage for some Use. There is no Sign of its being dug so, to look whether Bones, Urns, or other Things are cover'd there, for then the Earth thrown out would have lain in the Fosse. If any of these Barrows were for the *Druids* Use, to offer Sacrifice upon, I should take this to be such. I never saw any before, where there was Area sufficient for such a Purpose, or Steps, or any Provision to ascend it with the Decency of a Sacrificer.

The

The Soil hereabouts where they plough is light, as in *Norfolk*. In the Warren between the City and *Mildenhams*, there is sometimes nothing but deep Sand, without any Verdure. The Firing here of the common People is Turf pared off the top of the Earth, which hath occasioned some of these bare Spots. Here are Plenty of Rabbits, which are sent to *London* in Carts that go Night and Day as fast as Coaches; they go double, as Coach-Horses, and keep the Coach Track. The Warreners, to have always a Number ready, don't only use Hays, as in other Countries, but Men dig out the Rabbits. A Man puts a Ferret into the Burrow, which keeps the Creature from stirring; then digging to it, goes on to the other Burrows which lie round about, as *Radii* to the Centre. One of these People will dig out two or three Dozen in a Day. They have another Method of hanging them by the Neck in wire Snares, which are set in their Paths. An Hour or two after Night they go about with dark Lanthorns, to take up those that are snared. The Light sometimes at one Place, and sometimes at another, and presently disappearing, has puzzled Travellers, who could not imagine, till they were inform'd, the Meaning of the *Phænomenon*.

In the next Town to *Cambretonium* I saw what would put one in Mind of a *Roman* Ovation, only theirs was for past Services to the Publick, this for future. A Mountebank made his publick Entry in Berlin and six, with

with Arms and Motto, preceded by a Brace of running Footmen *proper*; four other of his Attendants on Horseback closed the March; as wisely knowing how much Shew is the Life of Art amongst the great Vulgar, as well as the small; that it is indeed Soul to Body, and *Hudibras's* Spur, which determines the Motion of the Crowd.

This Wight was Envoy Extraordinary of Death, and took his Place upon that Erection of Wood, where his Master exposes his Victims delivered up to him by the Hands of Justice; but oftner by his Proxy signs a Passport for others, with Indulgence for private Execution by their own Hands.

A great Man met this Cavalcade upon the Road, and enquired of the running Footmen, whom they belonged to. It was that Day *Merry-Andrew's* Turn to serve in that Capacity, who answer'd, It was my Lord *Mountebank*; my Lord *Montague*, I suppose, replied the great Man; Way was immediately made, and all uncovered at the Sight of the red Cloak.

From *Cambretonium*, if we keep our Line, we pass the River, beforementioned, at the Ford. And going through the opening of the *Vallum*, which is seen for half a Mile together, (the same that I supposed to be one of the *British* Mounds, and perhaps answering to the *Devil's Ditch*) our Direction over the plain Countrey is to *Catlidge*, the Seat of the Lord *North* in *Cambridgeshire*. It stands
upon

upon a rising Ground, to which there is a gentle Ascent on every Side. From the Park Corner may be observed the Traces of our Military Way to *Thurlow*, and so to *Tallow-Wrattling* in *Suffolk*, which is presumed to be *Ad Ansam*. After a small Turn about the Park Corner we pass a Brook, and ascend a Hill by a broad Lane of the usual Dimension for a *Roman* Way. Across the Top of this Lane is a Fence which seems to have enclosed the Fields many Years, and to have intercepted the Road. In the Direction beyond the Hedge is a Field with Trees and Hedge of each side just of the Breadth of the Lane that points up to it, which once was the Military Way. And this Field points down to a Road by a Wood side, which is our Road again. The Way of coming at it now from the Place where we were stopped by the Enclosures, is by a Lane either to the Right or Left; both of which, after taking a Circuit about the Enclosures, meet in the Lane under the Wood. This Lane seems to have been made good by the *Romans* with an *Agger* of Flints. For since it has been worn hollow, there are to be seen abundance of Flints in the Bank daily falling into the Pad, as the Earth sinks from them, and the Roots of the Hedge thrust them out.

We go next through Field-ways to *Bradley* in *Suffolk*, thence to little *Thurlow*. Descending the Hill we have on the Left a handsome Brick Almshouse, built by the Family
D of

of *Solmes*, with their Arms on it. A little farther on the Right is their Seat, at a convenient Distance from the Road, enclosed by a Park, and is a most agreeable Situation between the Plains and Wood-lands. At the End of *Thurlow* is a Lane which carries us a Mile farther to *Tallow-Wrattin* in the same County.

Ad Ansam Camp answers to the Distance of *Antoninus* exactly fifteen Miles from *Icklingham*, and in a Line: So that Point is I hope gained. Many Experiments have been made, and the Word put to the Torture to confess it self, *Ad Arcam*, *Ad Pansam*, *Ensam*, and the like. *Camden* is a good Evidence for me, who speaking of this Station, saith, “ Six
“ Miles from *Camalodunum Antoninus* fixeth
“ the Place which he calls *Ad Ansam*. I should
“ guess this to have been some Mark relating
“ to the Bounds of that Colony, made in the
“ Shape of a Handle. For I have read in *Siculus Flaccus*, the Fields that lay near the
“ Colonies were determined by several Sorts
“ of Bounds; in the Limits there were placed for
“ Marks sometimes one thing, sometimes another. In some a little Statue of *Mercury*; in
“ others a Wine Vessel; in others a Spatula;
“ in others a Rhombus, or Figure in Shape
“ like a Lozenge; and in some according to
“ *Vitalis* and *Arcadius* a Flagon or Jar. And
“ why might not *Ansa* be such a Mark? Especially since *Antoninus* hath *Ad Ansam*,
“ and not *Ansa*, as his usual Custom is. —
I “ Wherever

“ Wherever this Station *Ad Ansam* was, I continue in my former Opinion about the Name of it; that it was either a Boundary in that Shape, or some Inn on the Road with this Sign. — Nor were all they any other than Inns or Boundaries, which the *Romans* after the same Form of Speech called, *Ad Columnam*, *Ad Fines*, *Ad tres Tabernas*, *Ad Rotam*, *Ad Septem Fratres*, *Ad Aquilam Minorem*, *Ad Herculem*, &c.

At *Tallow-Wrattling* a Road from *Ketton* by the other *Wrattling* falls into the Military, and makes a Trivium. All these three Ways are Causeways, and the Spaces between them to the Inclosures hollow; which strikes one with the Notion of the *Roman Ansa*, whether we take it for the Handle or Stale of an Ax or Mallet, or for the Handle or Ear of a Cup or Porridge-Pot. In the first Sense the three Points of the Causeway look every one as if they were fit for a Man to grasp: In the latter, the triangular Verge of the Hollow, from two of the Causeways to the Bank, is the exact Form of what we call the Ear or Handle of a Pot. I shall not determine in this Matter, since either serves my Purpose. Yet *Plautus* inclines me to the last Interpretation from an Expression of his, about a Man strutting with his Arms a-kimbow, *Quis hic Ansatus ambulat?*

On the East side of this Military Way is a steep Bank, either contrived by Nature or Art, from the North Part of which is yet visible,

the Trace of a *Vallum* and Fosse rounded at the Corner, and pointing Eastward down a common Field towards the low Grounds. At the Bottom of this common Field, I apprehend, the Fortification went by the Side of the Moor, toward which there is a considerable Descent at present. This is a pleasant Spot, such as I have observed the *Romans* chose for a Camp, facing the South-East Sun. It seems to have taken in a Field called the *Toft* belonging to the Hall, a Farm of Sir *Robert Barnardiston*. The Homestall of this Farm with another small Field I suppose taken in, and the South-Rampart to have been on the Road-side, fronting the North side of the Church. Here I take the Entrance to have been, and that the Sight of the whole took up twenty five or thirty Acres.

Possibly the *Danes* or *Saxons* took the Benefit of the *Roman* Choice of Ground, and their Works to defend it. For there is a *Vallum* with a Fosse on each side going up from the Church Northward; for what Use I can't guess, unless they had a Mind to a smaller Camp, and so contracted the old one.

Hence we pass to *Castle Comps* at six Miles distance, the *Camulodunum*, I take it, of *Antonine*. On the Way from *Wrating*, at two Miles end we enter the West end of *Haverill*, which stands upon the Bordering of *Suffolk*, *Effex*, and *Cambridgeshire*. Here we fall into the *Ikening*, which with the *Ermine*, at this Place makes a *Saltire*, as will appear by the

the settling the fifth *Iter*, which shall be done in its Place. We keep our *Ermine* and *Ikening* about two Miles to the House of Mr. *Bridge*. The *Ikening* hath its course by *Linton*, and near *Camboritum*, *Chesterford*, to *Witso Bridge*, *Ikleton*, *Royston*, *Baldoc*, *Dunstable*. Our *Ermine*, to which we keep for this ninth *Iter*, near Mr. *Bridges's* House deflects a little to the Left. And after two or three short serpentine Turnings, which the boggy Ground occasions, goes in a direct Line to *Castle Comps*, six Miles from *Ad Ansam*.

This seems to me the famous *Camulodunum*, called by some *Colonia*, by others *Colonia Camuloduni*. The Ground, which at present we can see has been fortified, contains no more than six or seven Acres, including the Church and Church-yard. The modern Works look like *Norman*. And yet they might be upon the *Roman* Plan. For if the Extent of the Fortification was no larger, and contained but a small Garrison, of Course the Strength of the Place must make up for the Want of room.

This I take to be the Royal Seat of *Cinobeline*, who was defeated by *Aulus Plautius* and *Claudius* in Person. *Claudius* possessed himself of the Place, and put in a Garrison of his own. Here was the Temple erected to his Honour, and in it an Altar, by *Tacitus* called the *Altar of Eternal Dominion*. Here the *Britains* too who had submitted to him, worshipped and adored him

him as a Deity. He placed here a Colony of Veterans, according to the *Roman* Accompts, and invested them with the Right of Possession. The Reason given is that they might defend the Place against Rebels, and inure the Friends and Allies of the *Romans* to the Laws and Customs of the Empire. The Objection to this Scheme, that the Place lies too far from the *Thames*, which *Claudius* passed, engaged the *Britains*, and having defeated them march'd to *Camulodunum*, has no great Force in it. For whether he passed the *Thames* at *Londinium*, or any where in *Essex*, this being the Residence of *Cynobeline*, might be most defensible, and his *Britains* might chuse there to come to a second Battle for their Liberties. This Place too has the Air of a *British Oppidum*, enclosed at some Distance, with Woods on every side, which was the Situation they chose.

A farther Proof this is the Place moves upon *Boadicea's* defeating the Veterans so easily. The King her Husband's Policy, who was named by the *Romans* *Prasutagus*, had very much failed him in the Event. He had great Treasure, and had made *Cæsar* and his two Daughters Heirs to him. The Soldiers however greedy of Plunder seized on his Kingdom, which was that of the *Iceni*, whipped his Widow *Boadicea*, who govern'd after him, ravished her Daughters, and turned the best of their Subjects out of Doors. The brave *Virago* drawing the *Trinobantes* also into a Revolt,

Revolt, fell boldly on the Veterans at *Camulodunum*: She put them to the Sword, and some of them that had fled to *Claudius's* Temple for Safety or Sanctuary; were, after two Days Resistance, taken.

It is said by the *Roman* Historian that the Colony was without Difficulty overthrown, because there were no Forts or Castles to defend it. That must be understood not sufficient to defend it, being got at too great Distance from their *Pratorium* or Head Quarters: For doubtless, their chief Residence had some Defence, tho' many could not be protected by it.

This Colony of *Camulodunum* lying so far off from it has probably given Occasion to make them two different Stations. We may suppose the Colony to extend it self to the next Vill, which is pronounced by the Inhabitants *Shady Camps*, and *City Camps*. I believe it also reached to *Haverill*, where the two Military Roads are one, and where Coins have been sometimes found. But the best Support of this Conjecture is the Difference the imperial Itinerary makes in the Number of Miles, mention'd in the fifth *Iter*, from the Number of the ninth. In this from *Camulodunum* to *Canonium* are nine Miles, thence to *Cesaromagum* twelve, and in all twenty one. Whereas in the Fifth from *Cesaromagum* to *Colonia* are twenty four. The three then forward to *Haverill* make the Complement, which I therefore take to be *Colonia Camuloduni*,

duni, not as a distinct Mansion from it, but a Continuation.

Whence this *Camulodunum* had its Name, is not upon Record: *Camolus* or *Camulus* probably was an ancient *British* Deity, from whom the Colony was denominated: Some *Deus Indigena*. *Julius Cæsar* mentions one *Camulogenus Aulereus*. Yet I cannot think the Inscription on the Altar, mention'd by Mr. *Camden*, can relate to *Mars*; as if *Camulus* was another Name for *Mars*, who is by some thought to be worshipped under that Name: Nor does Mr. *Camden* give in to this.

Camulo Deo Sancto & Fortissimo agrees very well with *Claudius*. He had a Temple here; he was Deified, and, as *Seneca* saith, the barbarous People now worship and adore him as a Deity. Since this Temple and this Adoration was at *Camulodunum*, I see no difficulty in reading *Camulo* for an Abbreviation of *Camuloduni*: And so it will mean *Claudius the Deus Sanctus & Fortissimus*, whose Altar was at that Place. This Way of writing half Words was common in the *Roman* Inscriptions. An Instance of this is the Money coined by *Claudius* in Memory of his Victory here: It was inscribed *Col. Camulodun*. Here the Termination is dropt. And on *Cynobelin's* Money there was *Cuno* with a Reverse *Camu*, which is making the Word still shorter than *Camulo*.

This Place I take to be the Residence of the Veterans of the fourteenth Legion, the *Gemina Martia Victrix*, called by *Tacitus* the Conquerors

querors of Britain. The same that in the Inscription of *Cnæus Munatius* is said to be *Colonia Viêtricensis quæ est in Britannia Camuloduni*. We have all this said of the Emperor *Claudius*, that he actually came to *Britain* with a Force, join'd *Aulus Plautius*, fought the *Britains* who disputed his Passage over the *Thames*: That next he took *Camulodunum*, upon which his Son was styled *Britannicus*: That he had a Temple built to his Honour at *Camulodunum*, and Priests formerly chosen for the Service there, and that they were called *Sodales Augustales*: That the barbarous People here worshipped and adored him as a Deity.

Whom can we think, after this, the Title of *Deus Sanctus & Fortissimus* can suit with so well as *Claudius*? *Camulus*, or something like it, was doubtless the Name of the Place whilst the Residence of *Cynobeline*. And if *Camulus* was a *Deus Indigena* of the *Britains*, whence they gave name to their *Oppidum*, how came we by a *Roman* Inscription in Honour of a *British* Deity? The *Romans* propagated what they called their own Superstition wherever they could; but this would have been complementing a barbarous Deity, which was below them to do, and a Deity too that must be then in Disgrace by the Progress of *Claudius's* Arms.

If the Name belonged to *Mars*, why should he change his old Appellation for it, of which

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the *Romans* were ever fond enough? They used it even figuratively to express War and single Combate. Then, as dropping one, two, or three Syllables in the end of a proper Name was the frequent Practice of that People, and observable in every Inscription they left behind them here, what Difficulty need there be in making *Camulo* the Genitive Case of *Camulodunum*? Here the People have no other Notion of the Coins that have been found, but that they are Popish Money. And when I made Enquiry of my good Landlady, where I might get some Information of the Antiquity of the Place, she sent me to a Gentleman that was a Roman-Catholick only, instead of an Antiquarian.

I could indulge the Thought, that *Castle-comps* Church is the very Spot upon which stood *Claudius's* Temple; because it is within the old Fortification, and because the Situation is pleasant and suitable: But chiefly that upon the Triumphs of Christianity over Pagan Superstition, it would be expressive of its Victory to plant its Altar as a Standard in the Enemy's *Prætorium*. Nor can I think the Place defecrated by having been employ'd in mistaken or defective Worship; but rather it was for the Honour and the Service of the true Religion, to take Place of an Altar inscribed, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Nor is this dissonant to History; for we are told, that upon the second Arrival of Christianity here, under

der *Augustine* the Monk, *St. Paul's* Church at *London* was built upon the Site of a Temple of *Diana*.

From *Camulodunum* the Itinerary carries us nine Miles to *Canonium*, which, I presume is *Ring-hill*, in the Parish of *Littlebury* in *Essex*, above *Audley-Inn*. The Distance is exact, and the Camp confesses it self *Roman*; tho the Neighbourhood content themselves in a Notion that this high Rampart, with the Fosse still entire, was thrown up as a Fence to keep in Rabbits. There is a narrow Lane from the southerly Part of *Castle Comps* Parish, pointing towards *Canonium*. And if one keeps the Direction for about three Miles more, there are some Slips of Fields pointing to one another in *Ashdon* Parish, of the exact Breadth of the Military Way we soon after come to. They determine at *Hales Wood*, leaving *Ashdon* Church on the right. This Wood contains about one hundred and fifty Acres, on the other Side of which, answering to the Fields beforementioned, is a Lane of full breadth. This Lane comes up from *Walden* to the Wood side, and by it is intercepted. 'Tis just by a Farm of the Earl of *Suffolk's* called *St. Aylot's*, which has been a Cell or Priory; and through this Wood antiently must have been the *Roman* Way. There is now no manner of use of it: It leads no whither, and makes up a Part of the Farmer's Homestall. Following it through a Pasture Field, we have an Hedge and Ditch on

the Left, and a Row of Trees on the Right, just at the usual Dimension. There are indeed Trees growing irregularly now, where the Way was, which make it narrower, but the ancient Extent is visible. From St. *Aylot's* Grounds the Lane becomes the common Highway to *Walden*. The chief Use of it is to carry Travellers from *Ashdon* and *Bumsted* to *Saffron-Walden*. From the Former a Road falls into it at the End of St. *Aylot's* Grounds, from *Bumsted* farther on. This Military Way is sometimes broader, then narrower, then broader again; which shews its Antiquity. The Narrowness is accounted for by the Encroachment of private Possessors, the Publick encroaches upon no body. Here if we keep *Walden* Steeple and the ruined Brick Edifice upon *Ring-hill* in a Line, we pass through *Walden*, just by the famous Castle of the *Magnavilles*. We descend to the Earl of *Suffolk's* Park, and going through it about the Place where *Audley-Inn* now stands, we ascend *Ring-hill* by the old Road still visible and direct, which leads close by the Camp. There is an Entrance on the South-East side, another on the South West. The Enclosure seems to be of twenty five or thirty Acres. The Brick Lodge, which seems to have been made for a Pleasure-House to *Audley-Inn*, hath four small Turrets upon the Corners. It is called the Warren-house, and may possibly have been a Lodge for a Warrener. There is at present no Traces of a Warren. And if the

Ground

Ground were ever put to that Use, we can't suppose the Fortification design'd to keep in Creatures against whom Earth is no Fence. Nor that any body would be at that Expence to no purpose without paling upon it. And I see no Traces of Pales any more than of Burroughs. The Rabbits, if there were any there, had the whole Hill without, as well as within the Walls.

For Etymology I confess my self at a Loss; unless the Word *Kανὼν Regula* may be in that early Time admitted. The Situation is fit for a Beacon, and might serve to guide Travelers across the Country. In *Ravennas* it seems quite left out.

Cæsaromagum is our next Stage, twelve Miles, both according to *Antonine* and our modern Reckoning. Tho' the *Roman* Measure, when we come far from *London*, is much short of the *English* Computation; near it, as we observe our Miles shorter, there is no difference. We must allow still twenty one Miles from *London* to *St. Alban's*, if we fix *London* near *Lambeth*. Our Road from *Canonium* is direct, through *Chreshol*, *Haydon*, *Cheshil* Upper to *Barkway*; the straightest Road from *Cambridge*, having crossed the *Ikening* between *Barley* and *Icaldon*, falls into our *Ermine*, which leads to *Braughin* in *Hertfordshire*, *Cæsaromagum*. *Barkway* stands pretty high, having an Ascent to it both on the Side we come from *Canonium*, and on the Side next *Braughin*, as well as that from
Royston,

Royston, where the Windmill stands. It is denominated from the *Saxon Berg a Hill*. Thence we pass through the Parish of *Ansty*, antiently *Heanstige*, or the High-Road. We have the Vill of *Layston* on our Right, of which there are now few Houses left near the Church. This Church stands deserted in the Fields, the Inhabitants having run away from it to fix at *Buntingford*, upon the making, I suppose, of this new Road from *Royston* by *Puckeridge* to *Wadesmill*. This has been indeed esteemed the *Ermine-street*; but we find no Station upon it, nor so much as a Town of Entertainment between *Hertford* and *Arrington* in *Cambridgeshire*. *Royston* is now not so much as mention'd in *Domesday*. *Buntingford* made up of four Parishes, got together for a Road-Trade: As *Puckeridge* out of *Stan-don* and *Braughin*. The more antient Way, than this of *Royston*, from *Huntington* to *London*, seems to have been by *Godmanchester*, *Papworth*, *Biggleswade*, *Baldock*, *Hatfield*, and *Hornsey*.

As we come from *Barkway* thro *Ansty* Field, the Military Road goes thro *Here-street*, where it has its proper Name, as in the *Saxon*, the Army's Road. This is in the Parish of *Horemead*, for which we are at a Loss for an Original. Possibly it may have been *Heremead* antiently, denominated from the Street. We go on to *Darsel*, between which and *Braughin* the Way has the Name
of

of *Hay-street*, corrupted perhaps from *Here-street* or *High-street*.

If we trace *Braughing* back to *Broughing*, and farther to *Boroughing* from the *Saxon Borough*, we shall have reason to look for *Roman* Remains here. There is a great deal often latent in that Name. The Place has been ancient *Desmesne*, and has still some Ruins of its Grandeur in giving Name to the Deanry and the Hundred. On the West Side the Way at that end of the Vill next to *Hertford*, we find the Traces of a *Roman* Camp. In *Larks Field*, which faces the South-East Sun, is a kind of Promontory, from whence we view Mr. *Freeman's* House and Park at *Hammels*. It is a little above the Confluence of the *Rib* and the *Quin*, by Nature defended with a steep and high Bank. Yet the Fortification of the Camp is not at the Precipice, but fifteen or twenty Yards within it. There are yet to be seen, notwithstanding the scratching of the Plough and turning of Carts for Harvest and Manuring, from the Road Westward a *Vallum* almost cross the Field, and about ten Yards without that another. These may probably have been levelled to the Height they are at present to make way for the Plough. On the South was the Entrance, and there yet seems between the opening of each *Vallum* another across to obstruct the Passage, so that one must make a Semilunar Turn to get into the Camp. At the West Corner it is rounded off, and carried on again Northward to the end of the Field

Field defended by a triple *Vallum*. No more of the Dimensions are to be follow'd; but by the Figure of the Ground, and its lying so much above the common Field, I should take it to be an Oblong extending its self as far as *Down Field*: And that it took in what they call the Saffron Ground, and the small Enclosures between that and *Larks Field* bounded by the Military Way: And that the Lane going at present from *Hull* to *Braughin* went thro' the middle of it. The whole, I guess, might be forty Acres.

I have heard that Coins have been found in the Parish heretofore, but no Gentleman in the Place hath any. Next to *Down Field* is another called *West Attick*, in which were this Year ploughed up two large Stones which look as if they were the Foundation of a Building. And in the upper Corner of the same the Earth lies in Holes and Hillocks, as if some Foundations had been dug up. Just by is a Wood of Mr. *Phips* called *Camps Wood*, which might formerly have been larger and extended its self to the Camp. In it is a small Square moted in, as if it had been some Place of Defence.

As to *British* Etymology, here we are to look for none, for it can mean nothing but *Cesar's Town* or *Cesar's City*. The Grandeur of the Name is equal to any. *Augusta* was a Name for *London*, and *Ravennas* calls it *Londinium Augusta* or *Augusti*. *Saragossa* in *Spain* is *Cesar Augusta*. Why this was *Cesar's Town*, or from which *Cesar* we are not told.

told. But as *Claudius* was the first of the *Cæsars* that could have possessed it, we have grounds to guess 'twas he. And that in his sixteen days Campaigne here he fixed a Mansion after his Victory at *Camulodunum*. If it was named from the Presence of an Emperor at it, there could be none but himself. For there came no other till *Adrian*, before whose time these Settlements were made.

The Site of the City, as I take it, was the Ridge of the Hill between the *Rib* and the *Quin*, between *Hull* and *Queenbury*, and some part of it perhaps where the Church and most of the Houses now stand.

From *Cæsaromagum* I go next to *Durolitum Chesbunt* sixteen Miles, which is the Distance if we go by *Hertford*, and that was the only Way. For the Tide came up to *Ware*, and to the Side of *Hertford* over-flowing the present Post-Road, till King *Alfred* by making *Black-Wall* kept it out.

Etymology helps us here both for the *Roman* and the *Saxon* Name. *Durolitum* is confessed to be drawn from the Water of the River *Lea* as in the *British* Language. So positive was Mr. *Camden* of this, and all that follow him, that they place this Station at *Leighton-Stone* from its Neighbourhood to *Old Ford* in the same River. They don't scruple to throw away Ten out of *Antonine's* Fifteen for the Support of this Conjecture. Whereas it is out of the Design of an intermediate Station to be so near one and so far from another, unless

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there were great Advantage of Ground or some other Inducement not to be found here. No Body pretends to shew the *Vestigia* of a Camp or any thing besides Urns and Bones, which are not a sufficient Proof. Had the Number been more sacred, there had been a better Chance to look for Truth till we find it, and then we shall not lose our Labour.

But *Cheshunt* may farther, by way of Eminence, be fixed upon the Water of the *Lea*, because the Water was then a Lake made by the *Lea*. It reached across the Marsh from almost *Cheshunt-street* to *Holifield* and *Waltham-Abbey*. Then the Saxon Name of *Cestrehunt* in *Domesday* has a plain Hint to the *Castra* of the *Romans*.

There is yet, if I am not very much deceived, a Part of the Fortification of the Camp remaining. In a Field called *Kilsmore's*, West of the Street, is to be seen a very high Rampart within a Fosse. This has been in the middle levelled; but from *Brook-Field*, almost parallel to the New River, it goes by a Spring bricked in, and is lost at the *New-River* Bridge pointing towards *Turners Hill*. The North Rampart seems to have run between *Brook-Field* and *Kilsmore*, and the Fosse is still continued from the North-west Angle to the New River, from whence it went down towards the Street. The Camp seems to have taken in Part of *Church-Field*, with *Mr. Robinson's* House, Garden and Closes, and with the
rest

rest of the Houses North of the Lane that leads from *Chestnut-street* towards the Wood-side.

The Inhabitants make no more of this than the first Cut of the *New-River*, which was laid aside as less commodious than the present Channel. That which inclines them to think so, is their having seen near *Wormley* such another Cut, which was made and neglected, because it would not serve the Undertaker's Purpose. Here all the Earth is thrown to one side, and so high that the Walksmen could not have come at the River on the Eastern side to clear it of Weeds, as is their Practice to do on both sides every where. Besides that the Expence of throwing the Earth all on one side would have been much greater. Then the Angle that our Fosse makes at the North-west and the deep Fosse remaining is not to be accounted for by a Design for the *New River* which keeps its Direction wherever it can. After all, he that looks upon this Cut and the River, will easily believe the River would have ran there, if the Undertakers would have had it, for the Level to me is the same with that of the present Channel.

The Military Way by which I would go from *Braughin* to *Chestnut*, goes over the *Rib* at *Newbridge*, thence leaving *Puckridge* on the Right into *Standon* Field, near the Lord *Aston's*, and so on to *Wadesmill*.

Thence through a Part of Mr. *Byde's* Park by *Wadesmill* to *Hereford*, which seems to be

no other than *Hereford* or *Vadum Militare*, the Ford of the *Herman* or Military Way. This excludes the modern heavy Conceit of its being denominated from a *Hart* in a *Ford*. We may find many *Hartfords*, if we look upon the Military Streets. There's *Hartford* Bridge upon the *Otter* in *Devonshire*, another between *Huntingdon* and *Huningford*, where I conclude the *Trajectus* was à *Duro-liponte*. From *Hertford* we go to *Berkamstead*, to *Newgate-street*, to *Northall* Common at the *Ridge-Way* end, where we leave it for the present, and turn to *Cheshunt*. From the *Ridge-Way* we go down by *Cuffley* up again to *Goff's Lane* which is large and direct, and passed, 'tis probable, formerly over the Spot where *Mr. Shaw's House*, once *Cardinal Woolsey's*, now stands.

Thence thro' *Church-Field* to the Camp. There is between *Mr. Shaw's House* and the Camp, in his Ground a Barrow not very high; but, if being environed by a Fosse determines it such, 'tis *Celtic*.

I am apt to believe there was a corresponding Military Way from hence to *Verulam*; because *Goff's Lane* and the Road we came from *Northall* Common points to the *Ridge Way* (by which a *Roman Way* is often meant) over the top of the Hill which leads us to *Bell-Bar*. Thence, I suppose, it went by *Ridge* (whence the Name of that Vill) to *Colney-street*, named from *Colonia*, and so to *St. Alban's*. Across this *Goff's Lane* has been in the *Saxon* times

times a *Vallum* which was the Boundary of *Mercia* from the East *Saxon* Kingdom. It was of later Erection than a *Roman* Way, and had been lost and the Memory of it long since, if the Inhabitants were not particularly concerned to trace it out. For by it the Copyhold Inheritance in the Manor of *Cheshunt* is determined, the eldest Brother inheriting above the Bank, and the youngest below it, tho' in the same Manor. This Division they take care to be skilled in and can follow in a Line, where the Bank was from *Theobald's* Park through some of the Earl of *Salisbury's* Woods into the Manor of *Broxborn*. This Custom could not have arisen but from the bordering of different *Reguli* who govern'd by different Laws.

From *Durolitum* to *Londinium* fifteen Miles. I would return from *Cheshunt* by *Goff's Lane* to the *Ridge-Way* Point, where I left the Military Way from *Braughin*. Then from *Cattle Gate* enter *Enfield Chase*, pass through it, and go out at *Southgate*. Thence through the Parish of *Edmonton* through the *Green Lanes*, as they are called, till I am within a quarter of a Mile of *Hornsey* Church. There the *St. Alban's* Road, erected upon the Decay of *Watling-street*, leading by *Colney-Hatch*, comes into our *Ermine*. We leave *Newington* on the left, and pass through *Islington* to *Holbourn*, so from *Westminster* Ferry over by *Stangate*, to *St. George's Fields*, where stood the *Londinium* of the Romans.

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One must not be positive there was not a nearer Way from *Cheshunt* to *London* by *Forty Hill*, (or *Four-tree Hill*) than going to the *Ridge-Way Point*. Keeping one grand Military Way was much the *Roman Practice*, and there should seem some *ἐναργον* in this *Iter*, from the Difference of three Miles. For here are sixteen and fifteen between *Cæsaromagus* and *Londinium*, if we go by *Durolitum*; whereas the Fifth that goes directly from *Londinium* to *Cæsaromagus* makes the Distance but twenty eight.

Iter 5:

A Londinio Lugwallium ad Vallum.

<i>Cæsaromagus</i>	_____	M. P. 28
<i>Coloniæ</i>	_____	24
<i>Villam Faustini</i>	_____	35
<i>Icianos</i>	_____	18
<i>Camboritum</i>	_____	35
<i>Durolipontem</i>	_____	25

The *Ikening Way* hath been thought to go from *Dorchester*, or farther upon the Sea-coast of *Dorsetshire* to *Tarmouth* in *Norfolk*. Its beginning from the West is without Question; from its Name *Via ad Icenos*, or rather I think, *Icianos*. Whence the *Iceni* themselves are named I shall not dispute; but take Sir *Henry Spelman's* Opinion, that their *British* Name, upon which the *Roman* is founded, was from the River *Ise* or *Ichen*. The Counties supposed to compose the Country of the *Iceni* are
Norfolk,

Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. Whether the *Iceni* were thus bounded, I shall not enquire, because it is the Name only I am concerned about. I know not what Relation the Name *Iciani* for a Town hath to that of *Iceni* for a Country or Province. *Ikening* will be derived from either; but if my Scheme be true, the *Terminus ad quem* being *Iciani*, the Appellation may be founded there.

From *Dorsetshire* the Military Way called *Ikening-street* passes through *Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire*, along the bottom of the *Chiltern* to *Dunstable* in *Bedfordshire*, where it crosses what is generally taken for *Watling-street*. Near this Place is a long Barrow. There are two or three more long ones in a Bottom in the Field between *Dunstable* and *Lilly Hoo*, upon the *Ikening*. I have heard the Inhabitants say, *Roman* Coins have been found here. The Way passes on by the Skirts of *Offley* to *Ickleford*, doubtless once *Ikeningford*, so up to *Wilberry Hill*, a small Camp, seeming to consist of about ten Acres, through the middle of which it leads. There is a small *Vallum* without any *Fosse* to be seen about half round. What Use it was of, does not appear. It neither stands high, nor was defensible from that small Fortification, of which we see the Remains. A *Faustina* hath been found here now in the Possession of Sir *Robert Abdy*. It is of coarse Silver, and the common size. R. *Seculi Felicitas*:

Felicitas: Two little Children sitting on a Bed. There seems here to be a Road struck out by *Arlsea* to *Sandy Camp* in *Bedfordshire*, a Ridge-Way directly over the Field from *Wilberry*. From *Wilberry* the *Ikening* goes through *Baldock* near *Odsey* to *Royston*. About a Mile to the Left lie *Arbury Banks*, a Camp of about twelve Acres, almost round. There is an *Agger* of the same kind as *Wilberry* has, but higher, and the Situation is higher, and so more defensible. They talk of *Roman* Coins ploughed up here. It lies a Mile from the Military Way. Yet the Name seems to carry something in it, for there is a Camp confessedly *Roman* in *Warwickshire* known by the same.

Mr. *Camden* was once so much persuaded this of *Ashwell* (*Arbury*) was a *Roman* Camp, that he had made it the *Magioventum* of *Antonine*, if Distance would have permitted him. He favours the Opinion of Dr. *Stukeley* that these Works are *British*: Observing from *Gildas*, that the ancient *Britains* were wont to give divine Honours to Mountains, Rivers, Fountains, and Groves, he supposed the Springs below the Hills shaded by Ash-trees to be a Place of high account with them. And if so, this Enclosure at the Top might be for Sacrifice or theatrical Entertainment.

At *Gravelly* next Village to *Baldock* is a Curiosity worth Notice; I have never seen or heard of any such elsewhere. In the Body

dy of the Church a large old Grave-stone; on the Verge this Inscription, the first Word or two obliterated:

— *Eleonora Conjux Virgo Simulata*
Ora quod sit Beatis Sociata.

This Stone is as old as any that have Inscriptions, and older than any that have a Date. It seems plainly to refer to Vows, at least Practices of *Cælibacy* in the conjugal State. It was Matter of Merit in early Days. The Monks extolled *Edward* the Confessor and his Wife *Edithe* upon that Account. This Doctrine perhaps looks to *Tertullian* for its Support, who in his Book *ad Uxorem de Unis Nuptiis* commends *Cælibacy*: And who, amongst other Arguments against second Marriage useth this for one, that it comes short of the Restriction some lay themselves under; *Quot enim sunt qui statim à Lavacro carnem suam obsignant? Quot item qui consensu pari inter se Matri monii debitum tollunt? Volunt ariis Spadonibus pro Cupiditate cælesti salvo Matrimonio abstinentia toleratur, quanto magis adempto?*

From *Royston* our *Ikening*, leaving *Barley* on the Right, passes through *Icaldon Field*, where it again gives a Name. Thence to *Wit-sow Bridge*, so through *Linton*. And two Miles on this side *Haverill*, near Mr. *Bridges*, receives the *Ermine* coming from *Castle Comps*, as was observ'd in the foregoing *Iter*. At *Haverill Town's End* the *Ermine* goes off
G inclining

inclining a little to the Left, whilst the *Iken-
ing* deflects as much to the Right, and makes
with the other a St. *Andrew's* Cross.

Having laid this Foundation, I proceed with
the fifth *Iter* of *Antonine* so far as the Coun-
ties in the Title Page are concerned. From *Lon-
dinium* to *Cesaromagum*, *Braughing*, twenty
eight Miles. For such will be the Distance if
we cross *North-hall* Common at the *Ridge-
way* Point, and go directly to *Hertford* with-
out touching at *Cheshunt*. Why they should
go the direct Way without touching at *Duro-
litan*, I shall not guess unless for the shortest
Cut. Why in the sixth *Iter* from *London* to
Verulam, and in the eighth from *Verulam* to
London, without any Notice of *Sulloniaca*,
through which was the nearest Road is hard
to determine, unless *Sulloniaca* was not
then erected into a Station. And yet in
the Order of the Imperial Itinerary the second
has *Sulloniaca*, which the sixth and eighth
want. And the ninth has *Canonium*, which
the fifth omits, tho' directly in the Milita-
ry Way.

From *Cesaromagum* to *Colonia* twenty four
Miles. I can give no Account of these super-
numerary three except it may be allow'd me
to make *Haverill* the *Colonia Camuloduni*,
as in the foregoing *Iter* I have laid down;
not distinct, but continued to *Castle Comps*.
Which by the Way, if true, shews the Itine-
rary to be settled about *Nero's* Time, at least
some Part of it. For *Boadicea* having fallen
upon

upon *Colonia*, they would hardly have left themselves so exposed after.

From *Haverill* I go to *Malden* for *Villa Faustini*, which I take to be thirty five *Roman* Miles off. It is not to be expected I should find Etymology for the Name. It was certainly arbitrary without Respect to *British* Appellation, or the Nature of the Soil, or Situation. That *Malden* was a *Roman* Town will not be disputed. So much Labour has been employ'd to make it *Camulodunum*, that the Advocates of that Opinion will never give it up to be nothing at all. I own the Distance from *Colonia* and *Iciani*, together with the Esteem it ever had of a Station, is the most I have to say for it; and that should be enough where Derivation of Names is impracticable.

Not but the Pointing of the *Ikening-street* and the Direction and Goodness of the Road even since *Roman* Improvement failed should have some weight. If our *Ermine-street* be fixed right to *Caster*, as I see no pretence to question, we must either have the *Ikening* making a *Saltire* with it, or of no Use at all. For if you wanted to go to *Tarmouth* the *Ermine* carries you. And if the *Ikening* should end at *Haverill*, it is dissonant to the other *Prætorian* Ways which keep their Direction from Sea to Sea, or the *Vallum* of the *Picts* which was equally a *Ne plus Ultra*.

The Road from *Haverill* to *Malden* is by *Sturmere*, *Bathon End* in *Burbrook*, *Ridg-*
G 2
well,

well, Yeldam, Castle Henningham, Crowch-Fair Green, Sibble Henningham, Wittam, Tiptree, Malden.

From *Villa Faustini ad Icanos*, Colchester, eighteen Miles. If we would derive it as some Authors do *Iciani*, wherever they place it, from the *British Iken*, which they construe an Elbow, there's indeed Elbow-room enough to fix upon any Spot that will answer the Imaginary Figure. But another Man's Fancy has as much Right to demolish such Conjectures as mine to build them. And therefore I leave it to the Skill of better Etymologists, if more Light can be had from their Endeavours.

I may here too be a little excused upon that foot, if with the great Mr. *Cambden* I deduce the modern Name not from a Colony but from the River *Colne*. Besides *Roman* Coins, here are allowed to be Towers and Churches built with *Roman* Bricks and Ruins. The other Proof that is brought of other equilateral Bricks is none to me because I never saw any such of theirs. And there's no want of that Evidence, since 'tis sufficiently evinced a *Roman* Town, tho not by way of Eminence the *Colonia*.

From *Malden* to *Colchester* is the prescribed Distance of eighteen Miles. There is a new Way cut through a Wood computed at fourteen. But even that, the Packmen who travel it say, takes their Horses eight Hours to walk, and they allow two Miles to an Hour. The broad Way which seems the *Roman* is a
 Mile

Mile or two farther about by *Tiptree* House, by *Mason* and *Keldon*. This has the appearance of a Military Way, and may be reckon'd eighteen *Roman* Miles.

Here the *Ikening* hath its Period. And if we go back upon it with *Antoninus*, we find his Computation no less answering our Scheme.

From *Iciani* we return to *Camboritum*, *Chesterford* in *Cambridgeshire*. This situate upon the River *Cam*, has been, ever since *Dr. Brady* wrote his History, known to be a *Roman* City. *Mr. Camden* would have made *Camboritum* *Cambridge*, as springing from the Old *Grantchester*. *Dr. Gale* determined it to be on the *Cam*, and was of the same Opinion. *Dr. Stukely* has fixed it right. Such are the *Roman* Remains; so visible still the Traces of the Walls, the Extent of the fortified part of the City, and the frequent Coins, that there is no room to question its being both *Roman* and Stationary. The Distance from *Colchester* hither thirty-five Miles will be found exact by him that travels it. The Road is to *Ford-street*, *Coln*, *Hawsted*, *Henningam*, which brings us back again into the *Ikening* Way by which we went to the *Villam Faustini*, *Malden*. Then we keep the *Ikening* by *Yeldam*, *Ridgwell*, *Bathon End*, *Sturmore*, *Haverill*, *Linton*. From hence the direct Way is between *Born-Bridge* and *Chesterford* to *Witfow Bridge*, and so to *Royston*, *Ickleford*, *Dunstable*, and on to *Dorchester*. But soon after we are passed the Ditch called.

led *Green Ditch* in the Field between *Born-Bridge* and *Chesterford*, we bend a little to the left to come at *Camboritum*. This Ditch is of different Make from any hereabouts that divided the Country or fortified a Camp. 'Tis a mere Fosse with the Earth thrown up on both sides, and runs up from the *Ikening-street* South-East into the Woodlands. It is not certain how near *Camboritum* came to the *Ikening*; it might possibly reach even to it, and then standing upon the Military Way there was no Deflection at all.

From hence to *Durolipons* we have done with both *Ermine* and *Ikening*, and have an Inferior or Cross Military Way. This leads us to cross the *Green Ditch* again where we left the *Ikening* coming from *Colchester*. We then keep the present *New-Market* Road by *Born-Bridge*, and a Mile farther till we come at what is called the *Nine-Mile Ditch*, being nine Miles from *New-Market*. Here the *New-Market* Road crosses a broad and direct Way from *Colchester* to *Cambridge*, of later than *Roman* Make. Into this we strike, and keeping the Left go over *Hogmagog Hills* to *Chesterton*. Thence by *Girton Brooks* and *Lowkworth Hedges*, to *Fen-Stanton*, perhaps from a *Roman* Way made of Stone. Then we pass by a large Barrow, as we cross *St. Ives*. Road leading to *London*, and by *Hemingford* come to *Godmanchester*. This has been reputed the *Durolipons*. But if we expect a Camp here, there is no Ground
fit

fit for it, unless we go up a Hill a Mile, and that must be off the Military Way. Nor do I remember any *Vestigia* of one in those Fields. I am apt rather to think it may be looked for at *Hartford* on the other side the *Ouse*: The Name, as the County Town of *Hertfordshire*, seems derived from *Here* or *Hereman* Ford, and expresses *Vadum Militare*. It must have been a more convenient Passage than that of *Huntingdon*. And if I am not much mistaken there is from it a sort of Cawseway leading into the present Northern Road which goes by *Stangate Hold*. And it will better correspond with the Imperial Itinerary. For though the Miles from *Chesterton* to *Godmanchester* are reputed very long, we cannot well lengthen them out from *Camboritum* hither at twenty five, and shall want the Distance of *Hartford* to bring them nearer the Truth. But of this I take no pains to be certain, because it is not in those Counties my Design leads me to examine. The Original of *Stourbridge* Fair I take to be that the Spot it is to be kept upon is the old Military Way, and so there was good Travelling to it, from both sides the Country.

Iter.

Iter 2.

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas.

I begin from *Lactodorum* and go to *Londinium*.

<i>Magiovintum</i>	_____	M. P. 17
<i>Durocibrivæ</i>	_____	12
<i>Verulamium</i>	_____	12
<i>Sulloniacia</i>	_____	09
<i>Londinium</i>	_____	12

The great Difference there has been amongst our Antiquarians in settling the Stations between *Lactodorum* and *Verulam*, and their present Disagreement, will justify an Attempt to fix them better. It is with Grief of Heart that one makes a Deflection in *Watling-street*, the Design of which, and the other Military Roads seems to be the keeping a Line, and going the nearest Way. To make a *Roman* Way crooked and perverse, is next to Perverseness of Manners. It unsettles all our Notions of their Exactness to pursue their Intention, as they have done through amazing Difficulties.

And yet we must go twelve Miles about between *Lactodorum* and *Verulam* either by a Circuit, or by the more indecent Excursion of an Elbow or short Turning. The Itinerary has been put to the Shrift, and charged with Blunders by every Man that had a *Nostrum* to advance. Mr. *Camden* would have fixed the supernumerary Station at *Ashwell* or at *Redborn*,

born, but found he had too many Miles one Way, too few the other. Mr. *Baxter* pointed to *Woburn*, where yet he could find nothing *Roman*. *Hertford* has been long thought of to supply the Place, and that too rejected for want of evident Remains. Its lying between two other, *Durolitum* and *Cæsaromagus*, shews there was no Want of a Camp here. And its lying upon the *Ermine*, as all have agreed, would make it a strange ἐκτροπή to step from *Dunstable* hither, and back again to *St. Alban's*.

To this *Berkhamsted* has been the *Succedaneum*, which makes just such another *Diverticulum* to the South of the Street, as *Hertford* would have done to the North. Here, tho the Place is pleasant and abounding with Situations for a Camp, we find none but *Saxon*, *Danish*, or *Norman* Ruins. That *Roman* Coins have been found in the Castle 'tis out of Dispute; yet not in such Plenty, as in those Cities we are sure were *Roman*. It's not impossible but the Kings of *Mercia* resident in this Place, or their *Norman* Successors should collect some of these Rarities which were afterwards buried in the Destruction of the Fortrefs. Tho' Coins dug up in great Abundance shew they were of *Roman* depositing, we may yet find some where there is no Pretence to say they ever settled.

Distance, it's true, agrees punctually well. But Distance out of the Road is not so good an Argument as Distance when we are in it, and following our Line. Here's no Place to

fix upon which the *Romans* are said to have fortified except the Castle. And if so, that has been over-built again by later Possessors. It is much there should not be one *Roman* Brick left, nor any of their indissoluble Mortar to be seen. It was not usual with them to build Castles unless upon a Point, or the Security of a Harbour. *Agricola's* Method was to secure their *Æstiva* by a Castle against the winter Attempts of the Enemy. But let us first find the Camp before we look for the Castle; and not suppose the *Legionaries* shut up in a Prison, where there was not an Inch of room for that Complement of Horse that encamped with the Foot.

Before my Scheme will stand I must demolish farther. Even *Dunstable* High-way must drop, tho' a Shool-boy's Proverb. If the *Roman* Stations were on another Road, I see no Necessity for keeping up this. Nay, probably the Inconvenience of making a Road here might have its Weight with them, as much as the Happiness of the Situation for encamping on the other.

It will not satisfy any Man to say the *Romans* left a Project for the Difficulties they found in pursuing it. Because 'tis evident the common Obstacles were none to them. Their stupendous Works convince us they struggled with Opposition to shew their superior Genius and steady Resolution. Yet they seem to have consulted Nature in all their Undertakings, not to make themselves the Opprobrium of Winds and Waves. Their Roads frequently wind
with

with a Hill, where they can want but little mending, and where a miry Bottom is avoided.

In the Life of Abbot *Leofstan* by *Matthew Paris*, we have an Account of his cutting down large Woods on the side of the *Chiltern*, stocking up the Roots, and levelling the Ground to make the Road passable. That it was at that time so annoyed by Robbers, who sheltered themselves in these vast Coverts and Fastnesses, that he granted away the Manor of *Flamsted* to *Thurnoth*, and two more Thief-catchers, who undertook to clear the Country of them. I don't bring this as an Argument that the *Romans* would not be at this Trouble. Woods and Precipices would never have stopped their Designs. But if they had made their *Watling-street* here, these Woods had been stocked up long before, and the uneven Ground levelled for a Street.

Yet the boggy Ground about *Fenny-Stratford*, before it was drained, might be a real Obstacle. And it might be a Point of *Roman* Skill to avoid such a Country as might have eaten out their Foundations by the constant lapping of the Water.

Some Consideration must be had of the glorious Situation of those Camps, by which I would carry the Street; by Nature impregnable on three sides or farther, such as a Legion or perhaps the tenth Part of one might defend against an Army as big as that of *Xerxes*.

To set *Dunstable* aside, let us hear Mr. *Camden* first. "At a little Distance from the very Descent of the *Chiltern-Hills*, there is a round

“ Military Fortification, such as *Strabo* has
 “ told us the *British* Towns were. It con-
 “ tains nine Acres, and is called *Madning*
 “ *Bower* or *Madin-Bower*, a Name where-
 “ in with a little Variation one may easily dis-
 “ cern *Magintum*. But after *Magintum* ei-
 “ ther by the Storms of War or Time was
 “ destroyed, *Henry* the First built another
 “ Town here with a Royal Seat at *Kingsbury*,
 “ and planted a Colony that should be a Curb
 “ to the Insolence of Robbers. ”

He quotes the History of that little Mona-
 stery King *Henry* founded there for the last
 Part of the Account which shall be consider'd
 in its Place. *Mayden Bower* then, as now
 its called, seemed to be *British* Work, tho
 some Coins have been found there. *Magin-*
tum by War or Time, was so perfectly ex-
 tinct, that nothing of it is to be seen.

Dr. *Stukeley*, pag. 108 of his *Iter Curiosum*
 saith; “ I visited *Mayden Bower*, mentioned
 “ by Mr. *Camden*, but can't think its Name
 “ has any Relation to that of the Town.
 “ Tho *Roman* Coins have been found here,
 “ I'm persuaded 'tis a *British* Work, like that
 “ at *Ashwell*, at like Distance from the *Chil-*
 “ *tern*, and of like Form, but more circular.
 “ It stands upon a Plain, but not far from the
 “ edge of a lesser Eminence of these Hills
 “ about a Mile from *Dunstable*.

The Evidence of both these Gentlemen
 makes for me, tho they are entirely of Opi-
 nion, *Watling-street* came here, and that this
 was *Antonine's Magiovenium*. One thing the
 Doctor

Doctor mentions may do me Service. And in a lame Cause, where so long founded Prejudice is against me, I must not miss a Twig that may keep me from sinking. “ This (*Dunstable*) “ being a high Situation, and no running Water near, they are forced to draw up their “ Water from very deep Wells by Machinery “ of great Wheels.

Mr. *Camden* saith of their Water, “ It has “ four Streets answering the four Quarters of “ the World, and because of the Dryness of “ the Soil, every one has four publick Ponds, “ (*Lacunæ*) which tho supplied only with “ Rain-water, are yet never dry. For Springs “ they can come at none, without digging “ twenty four fathom deep.

I don't remember to have seen a *Roman* Camp half a Mile from good running Water. That of the Ponds would not have served to boil the Pot, or to drink. And they were better Contrivers than to lay themselves under a Necessity of Machinery which might be saved, and which might want Reparation, and not be of Use in a sudden Expedition.

But now we are to charge the Pope's Life-guard (as they are called) the Monks. I quote Mr. *Camden's* Translation, as hitherto I have, who recites the History of the Monastery. “ It is to be observ'd that that Structure (*Area*) “ at the Meeting of the Way of *Watling* “ and *Ikening* was first contrived by *Henry* “ the Elder of that Name King of *England* to “ prevent the Mischiefs of one *Dun* a famous “ Robber, and his Gang: And that from this “ *Dun*

“ *Dun* the Place was called *Dun's Stable*. Our
 “ Lord the King built a Borough there, and a
 “ Royal Seat for himself near it.

That it was the Opinion of the Age in which that History was writ that *Watling-street* lay thro' *Dunstable*, is not to be denied. The Road being since made direct from *Chester* to *London* for the Use of Travellers that had no Business but the nearest Way; and not for the *Prætors*, who march'd from Camp to Camp, and Garrison to Garrison, it might for Want of examining, be thought the antient Military Way. The Wars between *Britons* and *Saxons*, and the Devastations of the *Danes* might so change the Inhabitants, and confound the Reliques of History, that a Point of so little Concern to the *Normans* might pass undisputed upon the Error of the first Man that asserted it. Besides we are at *Dunstable*, not far from the Intersection of the two Streets, which I place at or near the long Barrows I mentioned between *Leagrave* and *Lilly-Hoo*.

The *Watling-street*, tho yet known and going by its proper Name, we find deserted in *Warwickshire*, and a new erected Road by *Coventry* in vogue. And the Monks, tho of no great Credit before and talking upon common Fame, here at least in the last part of their Story bear Testimony against common Opinion. I am far from accusing them of downright Forgeries. A little Embellishment, and, to gain the Reverence of such as occupy the room of the Unlearned, some *tolerabiles Ineptiæ* they are chargeable with. Their Design was good, to make the World pious and charitable

ble. Thus Miracles became familiar; and Events long after they appeared foretold by a true *second Sight*; and Founders Curses upon the Sacrilegious fulfilled to a tittle. But none of these are attributed to any but Men of great Sanctity, the Imitation of whose Virtues is the End of all. In the Disputes between *Regulars* and *Seculars* we find all the *Phænomena* voting for the Former. A Voice, a Vision, a Hand-writing on a Wall determined for them, but the poor *Seculars* had no Benefit of supernatural Appearances.

This Fancy of *Duns stable* will find no more Credit with others, than their *Watling-street* doth with me. I don't see one Word of the Remains of the *Roman* Town when our Lord the King built the Burrough. It had been easy to lay upon the Ruins of *Magiovinium*, and every body knows they stood in no Awe of Proximity.

My next Work is to establish, if I can, the Military Way upon another Foot, in which if Etymology will help me, I humbly ask its Assistance. From *Laetodorum* I would go to *Sandy* in *Bedfordshire* for *Magiovinium*. Here I have Mr. *Camden's Salene* in my Teeth. I don't find this Place made *Salene* upon any Score, but Similitude of Sound, and the Authority of *Ptolemy*. That Author saith no more, than that there are two Cities of the *Cattieuchlani*, *Verulam* and *Salene*. The first is notorious, the second he has not fixed any where, and I hope in its Order to find it somewhere else. Mr. *Camden* doth not assert the Spelling to be with an *l*, as *Salndy*,
 2 but

but upon Hearſay. And I never could hear it but from him. I ſuppoſe the preſent Name from the ſandy Soil, which is a Girdle croſs the County from *Gamgay* to *Brickill*. Nor is there any trace of a City here, at the Camp, or in the Village at the bottom of the Hill. Here are no broken Walls, Hillocks, Dales, Banks, nor Foundations, as may be expected where a City ſtood; and ſuch as I ſhall produce for my *Salenæ*.

That *Sandy* was a *Roman* Camp they that deny it to be *Magiovinium* will not deny. Its Urns, Coins, Fortification are confeſſed. And as it was a Camp of that noble and well choſen Situation as all that view it muſt allow; of that Importance to command the adjacent Country, 'tis ſtrange it ſhould come into none of the Imperial Journeys, as it does not if *Salenæ*. Neither is it taken in by the *Watlingſtreet Iter*, nor by that through *Durolipons* or *Godmancheſter* tho within leſs than a dozen Miles of it.

From *Lactodorum* the Diſtance is ſeventeen Miles, to which it anſwers. The Etymology of Mr. *Baxter* from the *British* of *Campi Candidi* is not altogether excluded here. For tho the Soil is not chalky, as at *Dunſtable*, the Fields are white hereabouts in the Summer. The Rye, which is the chief Product of this Neighbourhood may be a Foundation for the Name, and if we are to ſeek our Denomination from the Fields, why not as well when they are in their Glory, greater than *Solomon's*, as in the Undreſs of Fallow.

I go

I go then by *Newport*, and *Bedford*, and *Gerford* Bridge to *Sandy*. The Military Way I have not attempted to trace, because Length of Time in these low Lands may be supposed to have effaced it.

I desire it may be observed that the Town of *Stratford* has changed its Place. The old *Laetodorum* stood on the other side the River, and is still called *Old Stratford*. How came the New one to be where it is, but for Convenience? This Convenience is explain'd by the erection of the *Dunstable* Road, to which the present suits better, as the old one would do to *Newport*.

What may be latent in *Nova Porta* I shall not determine. The Cognomen *Pagnell* or *Paganell* is modern, from *Gervaise Paganell* Baron of *Dudley*, Founder or Benefactor of the Monastery here. *Bedford* is next upon the Road, a Place antiently of great Accompt, in *Saxon* wrote *Bedanford*, interpreted Beds and Inns at a Ford. Mr. *Camden* thus far helps us, as to mention that this Place has been by some reckoned the *Laetodorum* of *Antoninus*. He can't allow it to be so, because 'tis not situated on a Military Way, which is the thing to be proved. And because Coins are not found here, which I am not bound to find, since 'twas, as *Hertford*, a Passage, not a Station. If I may take hold of this, how came *Bedford* to be taken for *Laetorodum* by anybody worth Mr. *Camden*'s Notice, if there were not some traditional Hints of a *Watling-street*, different from that of *Dunstable*? I may rejoice

that there have been some dissatisfied with the common Opinion. Nearer *Camden's* Time was nearer the Truth, for Truth was in the World before Error.

From *Bedford* we cross the River *Ivel* at *Gerford* Bridge, and mount the Hill to the Camp. Here we have a Spot adapted perfectly to the Design of a Station, fortified on three Sides by Nature. There is on the fourth, towards the North-East, a famous Fox-earth, called the *Brazen Doors*. What Relation that Name has to the Camp, or how corrupted, I don't know.

Ravennas in his Collection mentions, between *Lectocetum* and *Virolanium*, *Jacio Dulma*, in some Copies *Statio Dulma*, which by our Antiquarians is thought to be *Magiovin-tum*. If we may guess at his Meaning, and *Statio* be admitted for *Jacio*, we may remember his *Statio Deventia*. Then *Statio Dulma*, corrupted from *Statio Dalma*, may be from *Statio Dalmatarum Equitum*. There may have been a Body of the *Equites Dalmatae* here, by which the Place might be as well known as by *Magiovin-tum*, or *Magin-tum*. A *Præpositus* of those Horse was at *Branodunum* in *Norfolk*, as it's commonly esteemed, another at *Præsidium*, *Warwick*, and a *Tribunus Cohortis Secundæ*, at *Magnis* in *Northumberland*.

Durocibrivæ is our next Station, for which I fear I must bespeak — *Risum teneatis, Amici*. The Place is at present so ignoble, that few besides Hunters and Ploughmen are acquainted

acquainted with it. Yet if a *Roman* Quarter-Master was to view the Country, he could not *ab Aurorâ ad Ganges* find a Spot more convenient for a thousand Men to defend against a thousand times as many. *Roman* Discretion is the best Support of this hardy Conjecture. This is called *Ravensborough* Castle, half a Mile above *Hexton*.

The Distance of twelve Miles from *Sandy* will bear Examination. The Way to it is from *Gerford* Bridge to *Shefford*, thence to *Barton*, so up the Hill to the Camp. The Ground enclosed is above sixteen Acres, of an Oval Figure, with no possible Ascent to it for an Army, but on the Side of *Hexton*. About it are Precipices under which are *Combes* or Valleys. It has been called a Castle, but here is no Sign of Walls. Nor is there any thing at *Hexton*, which looks as if it came from a Castle. So that we are at Liberty to reckon it a Camp. This Title of *Ravensborough* is supposed to be given by some *Saxons* who were Natives of the Town of that Name in *Germany*. *Cæsar* informs us that new-planted People call their Acquisitions by the Names of the Country from whence they came. Because perhaps they loved to think themselves at home, when they are got from a homelier Place. This has been rather a Method of naming Countries than single Towns.

If we can find the Signification of *Raven*, and can be sure it is not corrupted from some other Word, *Saxon* only can help us out. If it were a proper Name of some *Saxon* Owner, 'tis in vain to seek. There was one *Richard*

de Ravensfeer, Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, *tempore* *Edw. III.* If *Raven* be from *Roman*, it's more than I dare assert. The *British* of *Durocibrivæ* is expounded *Aquarum Concurfus*. Doubtless *Dour* is Water, whatever can be made of the rest. We have it in *Durolitum*, *Cheshunt*. Water we have here in great Perfection. There is a fine Spring on the East of the Camp, at the foot of the Hill where the Camp only is accessible, which runs to *Hexton*, or *Heckstaneſtone*, in Domesday *Hegastaneſtone*. Another comes pouring out of a Bank at the *Beryſtead*, west of the Church, with ſuch a Stream as would almoſt drive a Mill. This has been Sainted, the Statue of *St. Faith*, to which alſo the Church is dedicated, ſtood at the Fountain, and it was called *St. Faith's Well*. The Ground here is cut into Canals which open into one another, and are a moſt agreeable Nurſery of Trouts. The Water is ſo clear, and the Bottom ſo white, either with Chalk or Sand, that it's perfectly transparent ſix or eight Foot deep. The Trouts, ſome of them twenty two inches long, come rowling before you up to the Surface, being uſed to take their Feed from their Maſter's Hand out of a Bowl with a long Handle to it. He has a Contrivance of wharſing ſome of his Banks, which are hollow a great way under, and ſupported by Timber underneath for the Fiſh to ſhelter themſelves from groping. A Man muſt be in Water above his Head before he can come at theſe Faſtneſſes to feel for the Fiſh. From hence the Stream makes a large Canal in
the

the Garden stored with Carp and Tench. And a little lower joins the first-mention'd Current which rises below the Camp, where is the *Concurfus*, if to that we trust for Etymology. Near this Place is a very high long Hill extended between two Vallies, in *Pexton*, and for its Shape called *Pexton Barn*. Where the Flux of Water after great Rains is heard at a distance, and by the Neighbourhood it was called *Roaring Meg*. It is not improbable this might be the Original of *Durocibrivæ*.

The *Saxons* without question made a considerable Settlement hereabouts, and used this Camp for their Security. Mr. *Crosse's* House below the Hill, where *St. Faith's Well* is, to this Day is called the *Berrystead*. There was another at *Cryfield* in *Warwickshire*, mention'd by Sir *William Dugdale*, pag. 177. of which he saith, " Before the *Norman* Conquest the
" Kings of *England* had here a House: The
" Place where it stood retaining the Name of the
" *Burystede* for a long time after; *Bury* signi-
" fying the same with *Curia*, and *Stede Locus*.
We use at this Day in his *Stead*, for in his *Place*.

It was within a Mile of this, upon the *Ikening-street*, that the great *Mercian Offa* had one Place of Residence. The Vill *Offley* still bears his Name. His Palace stood where Mr. *Helder's* House or Sir *Thomas Penrice's* doth at present, and perhaps extended to both. If we look at the Site of *Kings-Langley*, we shall find it as large as both these together.

I have been told that Coins have been ploughed up near *Ravensborough*, but more frequently
about

about the long Barrows in a bottom in the *Ikening* Way between *Dunstable* and *Lillyhoo*. Hereabouts I should look for the Intersection of *Watling* and *Ikening* Streets.

Our Military Way must be near these Barrows to *Luton*, and so to *Verulam*, and the twelve Miles Distance answers well. We might strike into the present *Dunstable* Road at *Market-street*, and so go to *Verulam*. But I rather think the other by *Harden* (*Harpenden*) being open and direct, and indeed wider for the greatest part than that of *Redborn*, is the *Watling-street*. So from *Ravensburgh* to *Luton* will be four, thence eight Miles to *Verulam*, the Complement of *Antoninus*.

It would be but Repetition of what every body knows, to prove *Verulam* Roman and a *Municipium*. How much *Julius Caesar* knew of this Place I shall not determine. Difficulty and Glory were the End of his Actions. The first sometimes in Order to the other. Yet the surmounting Difficulties seems to have carried in it with him its own Reward. He of all Men knew how to extract Pleasure and Profit from the same Hazards. Whether he did much or little against *Cassibelan*, is hardly to be found but from his own Relation. The Hostages he carried were a Shew of Conquest at *Rome*. He had not arrived at the top of his Greatness. His Success in *Britain* made him more considerable at home, and gain'd him the Esteem of the Soldiers. So that if he appear'd with the Spoils of a Conqueror, he might be thought to have subdued the chief Power of the Island.

Yet

Yet I cannot come into the Opinion that he was bearen off here in his second Expedition. Facts are the best Proof of Words. We find it constantly affirmed by the *Roman* Historians, that after his Time a Tribute was paid to *Rome* by the *Britains*: That *Augustus* received it, and again it was refused. That *Cynobelinus* lived at *Rome* in *Augustus's* Reign. That upon the Dread of a *Roman* Descent, the *Reguli* of the Country made Submissions, and renewed their Tribute. All this could not have been without what *Cæsar* tells us had been true. *Cæsar's* Archievements must be made less, to make *Claudius's* Glory greater, who was fond of the Compliment of having reduced *Britain*, as if he had done it all himself.

The Policy of *Augustus* was not to extend the Limits of the Empire. He judged well they had as much as they could keep. And yet the attempting to make farther Conquests in the Reign of *Claudius* might be as well contrived. The State at both times judged according to the Symptoms. The Army under *Augustus* had suffered extremely by Civil Wars, where *Roman* was against *Roman*, and therefore Victory more dearly purchased than from Barbarians. Afterwards when the Soldiers grew Dissolute and Luxurious, it was best to keep them employed and enured to the Spoils of Strangers; lest having none other to subdue, they should in the Wantonness of their Power turn their Swords against their Masters.

From *Verulam* we go to *Sulloniaca*, *Brockley-Hills*, nine Miles onward to *Londinium*.

By

By *St. Stephen's Church* we pass to *Colney-street* into which is received the corresponding Military Way, as I presume, from *Durolitum, Cheshunt*. Thence to *Brockley-Hills* in *Middlesex*, where Mr. *Philpots* has chosen the *Roman Site* to build upon.

This City, for such I esteem it, was continued to *Shenley* in *Hertfordshire*. And I have Mr. *Gale* for Evidence. The Name of this Vill is sometimes written *Shellenay*, in Domesday once *Senlay*. And this, with Submission, I take to be the *Salenæ* of *Ptolemy*. That it has been a Place of Building, as well as Encampment, the ingenious Author last mentioned, puts beyond dispute. "*Colles hi, in quibus illam Stationem collocarant Romani, videntur incipere apud Shenley, à quo Loco usque ad Brockley-Hills, ubi Rudera et subversi Castris vestigia conspiciuntur, rara aut nulla inveniuntur Oppida, sed tota Regio dumetis horret.*" In *Itinere* 2. Pag. 63.

Saleniaca Castra is a fair and unforced Derivative of *Salenæ*, the *a* only corrupted into *u*. Considering the Licence every body takes of more bold and wild Conjectures, I hope this will be allow'd to me. Nor do I know where else to look for *Salenæ*, unless the Intercalated *l* of *Sandy* will accompt for it. And when we have found *Salenæ* there, we make no Use of it, but leave one of the most happy Situations in the Island deserted, and charge the *Roman Genius* with neglecting a Post which few Countries can equal, none exceed.

F I N I S.